

Children's Strikes, Parents' Rights: Paterson and Five Points

Author(s): Rebecca Yamin

Source: *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 2002), pp. 113-126

Published by: Springer

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20852994>

Accessed: 28-06-2016 16:51 UTC

## REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/20852994?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20852994?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents)

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://about.jstor.org/terms>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).



*Springer* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*

## Children's Strikes, Parents' Rights: Paterson and Five Points

Rebecca Yamin<sup>1</sup>

---

*While Karen Calvert's book, Children in the House, deals with middle-class play, there is very little work devoted to children's toys and games in a working-class context. This paper uses the toy assemblages from two working-class sites to begin a discussion of working-class play and the struggle nineteenth-century working-class parents waged to impart their own values to their children. Because marbles were the predominant toy recovered from both sites, the nature of the game is discussed, and its relationship to working-class values is considered.*

---

**KEY WORDS:** toys; child labor; marbles; working class.

### INTRODUCTION

They had to buy something special for Frankie for Christmas, and it would also be necessary to buy something for each of the children who were coming to the party on the following Monday. . . . They stopped to look at the display of toys at Sweater's Emporium. For several days past Frankie had been talking of the wonders contained in these windows, so they wished if possible to buy him something here. "That's the engine he talks so much about," said Nora, indicating a model railway locomotive, "that one marked five shillings." "It might just as well be marked five pounds as far as we're concerned," replied Owen. . . . After lengthy consideration, they decided on a clock-work engine at a shilling, but the other toys they resolved to buy at a cheaper shop where they got a cardboard box from Japan that contained a whole family of Japanese dolls for sixpence, a box of paints for threepence, a six penny tea service, a three penny drawing slate, and a ragdoll for sixpence. (Tressell, 1993, p. 318)

<sup>1</sup>John Milner Associates, 1216 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107; e-mail: ryamin@johnmilnerassociates.com.

This passage from Robert Tressell's classic working-class novel, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* (originally published in 1914), presents a perspective on parenting that is very different than the perspective that led middle-class reformers to rail against the "degenerate influence lower class and immigrant parents exerted over their offspring" (Gish, 1994, quoting Charles Loring Brace, p. 3). In the novel, Frank Owen and his wife, Nora, use their limited resources to buy their son a toy they hope he will like as much as the one he really wanted as well as buy toys for other children. They are well aware of what they cannot afford and why (as the novel's protagonist, Owen, spends a good deal of energy trying to explain the working man's plight to his workmates), but they buy what they can and are generous with the little they have. The values embedded in their choices are different than middle-class values and certainly different than the values attributed to the working class by nineteenth-century bourgeois reformers.

For the working class, it was a struggle to buy toys for their children and an even larger struggle to maintain control of their children's time. Exploitive wages often required every able-bodied member of a family to work, no matter how young, leaving children very little time for anything else. While criticizing working-class parents for abandoning their children to the workplace, bourgeois reformers, many of them being women, established institutions meant to educate working-class children in middle-class values. Work and play were thus both areas of contention with working-class parents fighting to impart their own values to their children.

Much has been written about toys in the context of middle-class attitudes toward childhood and child rearing (e.g., Blumin, 1989; Bushman, 1992; Schlereth, 1991; Wall, 1994), but there is no study of the material culture of working-class play (Calvert, 1992, p. 13). Karin Calvert's book, *Children in the House*, is, in her own words, "a study of the concerns and assumptions held by the normative [middle-class] culture" (Calvert, 1992, p. 13). While it is a fascinating study that makes us think about all sorts of important issues—the function of furniture in the definition of childhood, how dress is related to gender-specific behavior, how status distinctions are encoded in children's toys—her data do not apply to working-class assemblages.

Toy assemblages recovered from working-class sites in the last 15 years or so provide an opportunity for beginning to consider toys and play in a working-class context. Toys from several of those sites are discussed here: one consisting of a block within the Five Points district, New York City's archetypal nineteenth-century slum, and two blocks in Paterson, NJ, a town known mainly for its machine shops, textile mills, and labor struggles. Toy assemblages like these are typically small compared to the total number of artifacts recovered, probably because they were more often lost in the process of use than discarded in sealed primary deposits. Many more working-class assemblages will need to be analyzed before we can claim any kind of general pattern; what is attempted here is a

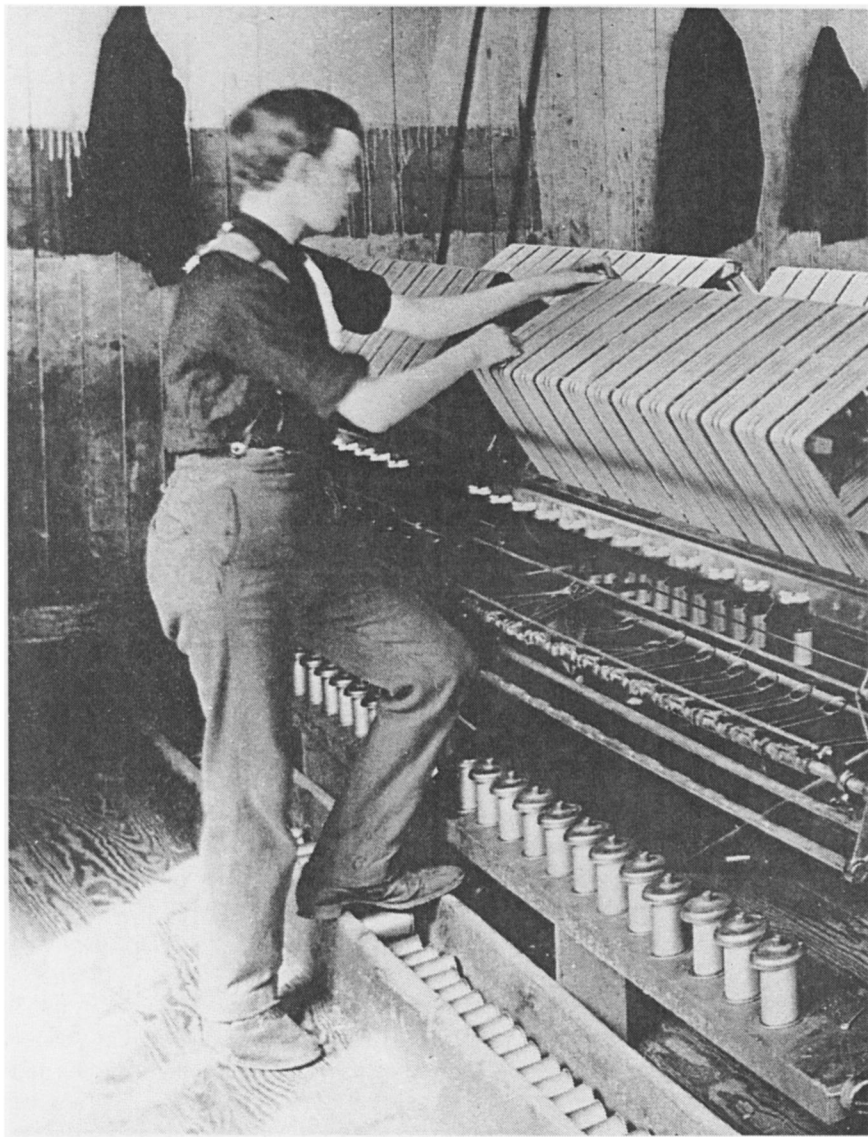
beginning. The assemblages from Five Points and Paterson are considered against a background of historical and sociological scholarship that explores children's pastimes in nineteenth-century, urban, working-class communities and considers parents' roles in their children's development.

### PATERSON

The Paterson data come from six backyard features dating from the 1850s through the turn of the twentieth century. The features were located on two blocks within Paterson's Dublin neighborhood, an Irish working-class district of two- and three-story row houses crowded against the mills that employed the residents. Men worked as machinists, moulders, boiler makers, weavers, cotton spinners, pattern makers, flax pressers, and silk winders; women worked as cotton weavers, silk workers, dressmakers, milleners, boarding house keepers, and servants. Children—both girls and boys—also worked in the mills at the unskilled tasks made possible by the introduction of the power loom in the 1820s (Fig. 1). According to historian Clay Gish, more than half of Paterson's 2000 textile workers in the 1830s were children aged 8–16 (Gish, 1992, p. 24), and even in the 1880s about half the children between the ages of 11 and 14 were listed in the census with occupations next to their names (Gutman, 1977, p. 47).

Several strikes in the 1820s and 1830s were known as “children's strikes.” Instigated by parents, the children's strike of 1828 rejected an arbitrary change to the lunch hour and demanded a 10-h workday for children. Because, however, children were still working 12–14-h days by 1835, another children's strike sought an 11-h workday. In 1836 machinists struck to “allow [workers] an opportunity of cultivating our own minds and those of our children” (Gish, 1992, quoting the *Paterson Intelligencer*, April 13, 1836, p. 30). A mother at this time wondered “how it could be possible for poor children who had to work in the mills, with barely time to sleep, and hardly time to eat a meal's victuals in peace [to] get educated,” an education that was necessary to make them, “aware that they were being subjected to tyranny” (Gish, 1992, p. 32).

Paterson's laboring parents were fighting for control of their children's minds as much as their labor in this period. They did not support the Sunday schools founded by bourgeois reformers to “infuse elements of moral vitality” into poor children, nor did they support public education, which they viewed as “another wedge between themselves and their children” (Gish, 1992, p. 30; also see Katz, 1968, for a discussion of working-class resistance to public school education). Middle-class reformers accused workers of “compelling their children to go to the mills” (Gish, 1992, p. 29); at the same time manufacturers paid such low wages that all family members had to work, a situation that prevailed in the twentieth century. Children who worked, however, apparently also played, and their parents invested in that play by providing toys.



**Fig. 1.** Young boy working in a Paterson mill, ca 1900 (by courtesy of the American Labor Museum).

A total of 111 toys were recovered from six features on the two blocks investigated (Table I). Three of the features were on owner-occupied properties (the top three on the table), and three were on tenanted properties. Owner occupants were generally skilled workers, while many tenants were unskilled, but the relationship

Table I. Toys From Paterson Features

Feature(s)	TPQ	Marbles	Tea sets	Dolls	Gaming pieces	Other
68 and 64	1853/1862	15 (78.9)	—	4 (21.1)	—	—
63, I–III	1894/1903	6 (26.1)	6 (26.1)	10 (43.5)	—	1 (4.3)
111b and 116	1906/1903	15 (55.6)	5 (18.5)	—	1 (3.7)	6 (22.2)
10, I and II	1892/1887	20 (86.9)	1 (4.3)	1 (4.3)	1 (4.3)	—
127	1855	10 (76.9)	—	2 (15.4)	1 (7.7)	—
8	1891	4 (66.7)	—	1 (16.7)	—	1 (16.7)

is not perfect and most of the blocks’ residents worked in the machine shops or textile mills in one capacity or another. Owner occupants also took in boarders, making it next to impossible to attribute artifacts to owners or tenants.

In all but one of the assemblages, marbles were the most common toy recovered (Table I). The marbles were generally made of clay or limestone—the least expensive types available—but most of the assemblages also included one or two of glass, not available until the midnineteenth century and not inexpensive until the second decade of the twentieth century (Randall and Webb, 1988, p. 12). Marbles were used in a variety of games played in the street mainly by boys. Three of the assemblages included fragments of toy tea sets, the type of toy typically associated with feminine play (Fig. 2). In her chapter on androgynous

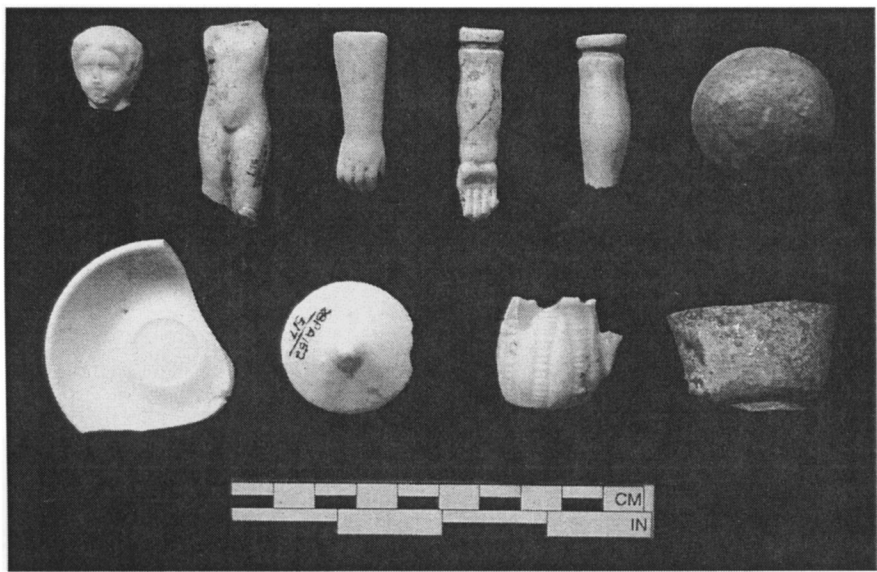


Fig. 2. Toys associated with the Mackel family and their boarders; top row, from left: porcelain doll’s head; porcelain “frozen charlotte”; porcelain doll parts; clay marble; bottom row, from left: porcelain tea set pieces— saucer, lid, tea pot; and pewter toy kettle. (Photograph by Juliette Gerhardt)

dress and gender-specific toys, Calvert writes, “girls’ playthings tended to be small, fragile objects . . . such as a miniature china tea set . . . [that] required quiet, careful handling and often encouraged solitary play indoors” (Calvert, 1992, p. 112). Fragments of small porcelain dolls (the type known as “frozen charlottes”) were also found in five of the assemblages, as many as 10 pieces coming from one feature. The feature was located at the back of a lot owned by James Mackel, a machinist, and his wife from 1866 to 1900. The Mackels had four children (three girls and one boy) and took in a succession of boarders.

The greatest variety of toys came from another owner-occupied property, this one owned by fireman Thomas McGill (Features 111b and 116 on Table I). He and his wife, Mary Anne, had two sons, ages 12 and 9, when they moved in, and they boarded a married couple. The unusual toys in the McGill assemblage included a jack, a pistol, a wheel, and three harmonicas (classified as other on the table). Although the assemblages from the strictly tenant households (the bottom three on Table I) were generally smaller, they too included toys considered appropriate for girls as well as marbles for boys. Only one of these assemblages included a piece from a toy tea set.

I suppose one could interpret these data as consistent with playthings being recommended for a proper middle-class upbringing and argue that they were part of parents’ efforts to prepare their children for upward mobility. In the context of the Paterson workers’ struggle to maintain control of their children’s lives, however, I think it makes more sense to see the toys as evidence of parents’ investment in their children as children, not merely as workers. Further suggestive evidence of this investment in children is the writing materials that were recovered. Slate pencils were found in all six assemblages, and fragments of writing slates were found in three. The pencils and slates may well have been used to instruct children at home where values were different than the values being taught at school. The mother quoted above, who wondered when a child had time for education, might well have attempted to teach her children at home.

## FIVE POINTS

The evidence from Block 160 at Five Points comes from a slightly different context. The children along the Pearl Street side of the block lived in multistoried tenements that overflowed with recently arrived Irish immigrants who worked in skilled and unskilled jobs, some as carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, or cigar makers, and others as day laborers, laundresses, seamstresses, and dock hands. Still others ran retail establishments or kept boarders. Two room apartments sometimes held as many as 10 individuals, including family members and unrelated boarders. On the Baxter Street side of the block, wooden houses originally built to hold single families had been subdivided and were packed with German Jewish families working in the garment industry. As in Paterson, children’s waking hours were

mainly spent outside their homes, but they were spent differently. New York lacked the large mills and factories that employed children in Paterson and throughout New England (Stansell, 1987, p. 203). In the 1830s and 1840s children were apprenticed in a variety of trades (Stott, 1990, p. 98), but by the 1850s the streets were the major employer of child labor in New York (Stansell, 1987, p. 204). Children peddled every imaginable treat—“hot corn,” sweet potatoes, baked pears, tea cakes, fruit, and candy—colorfully describing their offerings at the tops of their lungs. Boys hawked newspapers, blacked gentlemen’s boots, and ran errands, and both boys and girls scavenged for resaleable junk wherever they could find it. Spending almost all of their time out of the house, boys were more at home in the street than in their living rooms where they mainly got in the adult’s way (Nasaw, 1985, p. 18). Even backyards were taken up with adult activities—laundry, small (and often illegal) industry, gardens, and garbage.

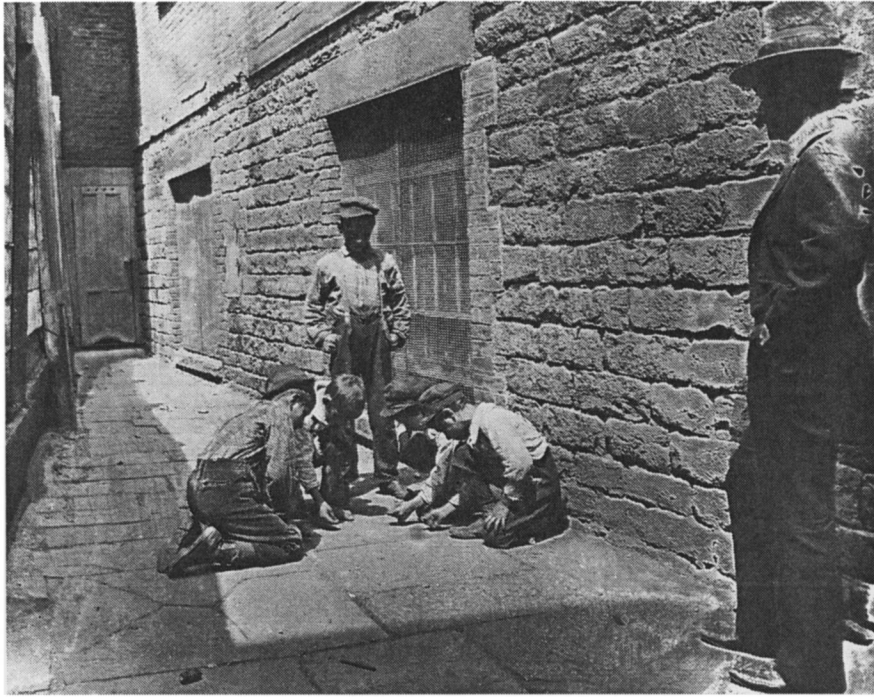
Children played in the streets, claiming their blocks as territory and ignoring boundaries between private and public space (Nasaw, 1985, p. 22). Within the block, space was informally divided with girls occupying the stoops and sidewalks for tending younger brothers and sisters, playing jacks, hopscotch, and jumping rope. Boys got the center of the street to play kick the can, variations on stick ball, and shooting marbles and craps (Fig. 3). Children of different ages played together, and there was never a problem of finding someone to play with. Ethnicity, race, and religion apparently didn’t matter (Nasaw, 1985, p. 39), although blocks were often dominated by one ethnic group or another. “The street,” claims historian David Nasaw, “bred a gutsy self-reliance in its children. It was their frontier. In meeting its dangers and clearing a play and then a work space for themselves, they developed confidence in their strength of purpose and their powers to make their own way” (Nasaw, 1985, p. 198).

Toys seem a tame component of such an environment, perhaps one reason why only 124 toys were recovered from the six features. Marbles are again omnipresent making up about 75–85% of the toys in most of the features and 100% in one of them (Table II). The top four features on the table were associated with Irish tenements on the Pearl Street side of the block, Features AN and H with German households on the Baxter Street side, and Feature AG with a brothel, also on Baxter. The variety of marbles was greater in the Five Points features than that in

Table II. Toys From Five Points Features

Feature analytical unit	TPQ	Marbles	Tea sets	Dolls	Gaming pieces	Other
J, AS V	1850	29 (78.4)	4 (10.4)	—	2 (5.4)	2 (5.4)
Z, AS II	1850	4 (80.0)	1 (20.)	—	—	—
O, AS III	1860	6 (75.0)	2 (25.0)	—	—	—
J, AS III	1870	29 (78.3)	2 (5.4)	4 (10.8)	—	2 (5.4)
AN, AS III	1860	6 (85.7)	1 (14.3)	—	—	—
H, AS IV	1880	5 (100.0)	—	—	—	—
AG, AS III	1841	20 (66.7)	5 (16.7)	1 (33.3)	—	4 (16.7)





**Fig. 3.** Jacob Riis photograph of boys shooting craps in a New York City alleyway. From *How the Other Half Lives*, frontespiece (Riis, 1971). (Image by courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York).

Paterson even though the features were generally filled earlier when fewer types of marbles were available at a low price.

Although the vast majority (69 out of 99 or 70%) were the same inexpensive clay and limestone types that were found in Paterson, there were also a good number (15) made of painted unglazed porcelain, a type that was imported from Germany beginning in about 1850 (Randall and Webb, 1988, p. 17). Miniature tea sets, much like the full-sized teawares recovered from the features associated with the Irish tenements on Pearl Street (J, Z, and O), also came in a variety of styles: hand-painted porcelain, molded hand-painted porcelain, gilded, and spatter-painted whiteware. Three different types were found in the feature (AG) associated with the brothel—one red transfer-printed whiteware, one sepia transfer-printed pearlware, and another refined earthenware. The doll parts recovered were from small porcelain “frozen charlottes.” Gaming pieces included a well-worn die and a small stone disc. Two handmade wooden tops (classified as “other”) were found in Feature J, the large cesspool associated with a five-story Irish tenement. The four items classified as “other” from the brothel were

fragments of at least two piggy banks, which may or may not have been used by children.

Boys, it would appear, had few toys beyond marbles. Girls, who were much more housebound—helping younger children, assisting with housework and out-work for the garment industry, making artificial flowers—perhaps enjoyed the tea sets and imagined social gatherings beyond their experience. They apparently had very few dolls, perhaps because their responsibilities caring for younger brothers and sisters negated their desires for nurturing play. Slate pencils were recovered from all the features, and fragments of slate boards from two. It is a little more dangerous to attribute the pencils and slates to children's education at Five Points (although New York parents also opposed middle-class-run educational institutions; Wilentz, 1984), as there were businesses on the ground floors of the Pearl Street tenements and in the houses on Baxter Street. However, according to Richard Stott (1990, p. 97), immigrant parents in midcentury New York saw more value in sending kids out to work than sending them to school and no more than 50–60% of school-age children attended class regularly.

Recovered at Five Points, but not in Paterson, were children's cups marked with their names or moralizing messages. Much has been made of these cups in Victorian era middle-class assemblages. With other individualized possessions, they were thought to teach children about private property "so that, as adults, they would respect the rights of others" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 1992, p. 92). At Five Points they may simply have been a parent's attempt to provide a child with an item that was specially theirs. Grace Karskens has suggested that similar individualized cups and moralizing china found in the Rocks, Sydney's notorious nineteenth-century working-class district, were evidence of mothers' efforts to educate their children in ways that countered the claims of men like the City Health Officer "who blamed women in particular for poor domestic conditions, flatly declaring they were 'dirty mothers' with no parenting skills or notions about hygiene" (Karskens, 1999, p. 142). At Five Points the cups came from features associated with the Irish tenements and the brothel, not with German households, presumably because the Germans husbanded their resources more cautiously (see Griggs, 1998, for a discussion of the differences between German and Irish consumption patterns at Five Points).

## MARBLES AND WORKING-CLASS LIFE

While there are significant differences in the Paterson and Five Points toy assemblages, marbles constitute the largest proportion of toys recovered in both places. The proportion of marbles in the assemblages also distinguishes them from middle-class assemblages. The graph depicted in Fig. 4 compares the proportions of toy types from Paterson and Five Points with types found at the Atlantic Terminal site in Brooklyn. The Atlantic Terminal assemblage, which dates to the 1860s,

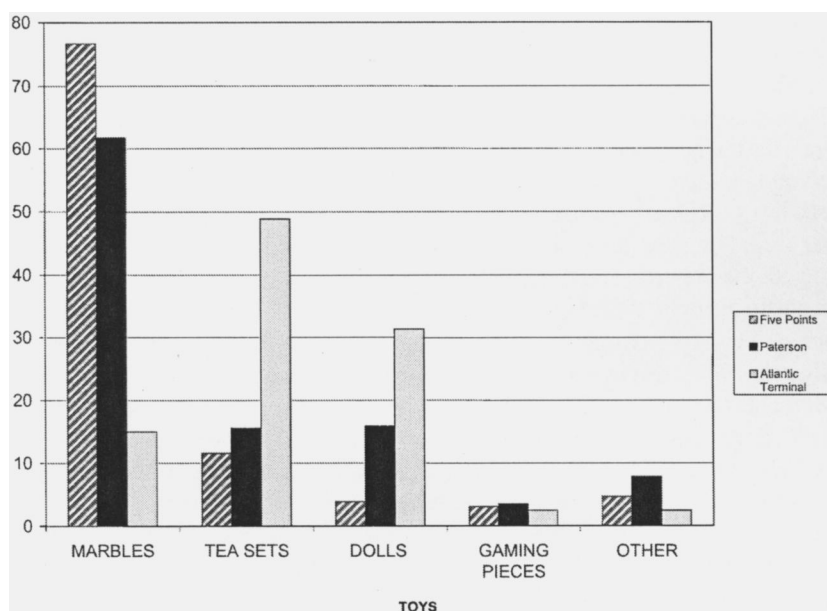


Fig. 4. Comparison of Toy Types—Paterson, Five Points, and Atlantic Terminal.

was associated with young middle-class families who had recently moved into one of New York City's first suburbs (see Fitts, 1999, for an in-depth discussion of the Atlantic Terminal site). Much less has been written about marbles than about the meaning of dolls and trucks in middle-class play; it therefore seems worthwhile to consider the relationships marbles had to working-class life.

Three basic games were played with marbles in the street: circle games, hole games, and chase games (Barrett, 1994, p. 80). All three of these games (and there are many more) require skill gained through practice and presumably through actual play. None of them are played alone, and they are generally played with groups larger than two. An essential component of the game (or games) is thus social. For a small investment (there were always marbles that were cheap) anyone willing to learn and to play with others could get into the game. Since working-class children lived in neighborhoods teeming with other children, there was always someone to play with, and any outdoor hard or semihard surface was suitable for play.

Marbles, like cards, is an internally interesting game, and although it is a game of skill, there is also an element of luck. Sometimes you win and sometimes you don't. Sometimes you're up (with a pocketful of marbles to click the way some men jangle change) and sometimes you're down. Importantly, you are expected to keep playing in marbles, to stay in the game long enough to give your opponents a chance to win back what they have lost. The excitement of winning and the

disappointment of losing are shared experiences—players can feel each other's ups and downs (Robin Stevens, personal communication). There is a sense of commonality and solidarity in the game just as there was in the tenements where everyone's troubles, as well as their triumphs, were visible to everyone else, and there was an ebb and flow of good times and bad.

Marbles also have a somewhat ceremonial quality, something scholars have noticed in other street games (Opie and Opie, 1969, p. 2). There is almost as much to setting up the game as actually playing it. Most important for working-class kids is that the game could disappear just as easily as it could appear and it could go anywhere. Such flexibility (and portability) fit the world of the mills in Paterson and the tenements in New York. Children—boys in this case—could play whenever and wherever they could fit it in between the work that took up most of their time.

Girls, on the other hand, had few opportunities for organized play, a fact that may account for the paucity of female-specific toys. As already noted, they were bound to their mothers' service and did the same outwork their mothers did with the added task of dropping off the finished products on the way to school and picking up the new ones on the way home. They were what David Nasaw characterizes as "marooned at home," and without pay for their tasks they lacked the freedom boys had to spend money on themselves (Nasaw, 1985, p. 113).

Boys with their wages and games in the street were preparing to be men like their fathers. Free from the tyranny of household responsibilities, they siphoned off some of their earnings for fun, even though it was supposed to go to the family, and spent their spare time playing games with their friends. Unless they could find a way to gain their independence (a subject Christine Stansell discusses at length in *City of Women*), girls were also preparing to replicate their mothers' gender roles. Their work was unvalued and unpaid, and their play was close to the doorstep where they could watch the younger children under their mothers' eye.

## CONCLUSIONS

Not many toys were recovered from the Paterson and Five Points sites. In the context of working-class life, however, the toys represent an investment by parents in their children's lives. Out of limited incomes, some, at least, was spent on supplying children with things that would please them. Many more toys were undoubtedly fashioned by the children themselves out of boxes and barrels and other debris found in the street (Fig. 5). Unlike middle-class play, working-class play took place mainly outside the house. As one scholar has noted,

at the lower end of the class scale parents expect the child to pursue the busy and active part of his life outside the home, and then come in to relax; whereas at the upper end he is expected to "let off steam" physically for relaxation outside, and then come in and get on with something more serious and creative. (Ward, 1990, p. 33)



**Fig. 5.** Lewis Hine photograph of children playing on a vacant lot in New York City. From the Aperture Monograph, *America & Lewis Hine*. (Image reproduced from Chicago Historical Society print 0292 (Aperture Foundation, 1977)).

While middle-class parents self-consciously constructed play to produce desired gender specific behaviors and class attitudes in their children, working-class parents also influenced their children's development. They also chose gender-specific toys for their children, but more importantly they encouraged behavior that was consistent with working-class values. In Paterson parents attempted to maintain control of their children's education even if they could not afford to give up the wages earned by their labor. In New York boys (and some girls) were sent out to earn what they could to contribute to the family welfare. In Paterson children worked in the mills, but in New York jobs were more diverse and allowed boys, in particular, a great deal of freedom to explore the city. Many hawked daily newspapers, saved enough to buy the next day's supply, spent a little on themselves, and then took the rest home to their mothers (not unlike what many husbands did). Girls worked alongside their mothers in New York, learning to do all the tasks their mothers did and secretly learning to make their way in the city.

David Nasaw has made the important point that working-class immigrant children were more at home than their parents in the city because it was the world they knew. They made the public streets into their playground and "put the adult world at a distance" (Nasaw, 1985, p. 21). In their games they were children and in their work they were canny business people. Surely this combination of work and play was as good a preparation for adult life (and social mobility) as the

highly structured play of middle-class children. Working-class play was structured differently than middle-class play, but it too had a structure (Nasaw, 1985; Opie and Opie, 1969; Whyte, 1943/1993). What middle-class observers saw as droves of dishevelled urchins roaming the streets were, in many cases, independent children learning the ropes, an experience they used to make a more comfortable place in the world for themselves than their immigrant parents had made before them.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I inherited the Paterson project from Lauren Cook, who, among many other things, found the Clay Gish article about children's strikes in Paterson the inspiration for this study. I am grateful to Juliet Gerhardt at John Milner Associates for her work with the Paterson toys and to Doville Nelson and Heather Griggs for theirs with the Five Points toys. Doville gave a paper on the Five Points materials at the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) meetings in Cincinnati in 1996, and Heather and Rob Fitts gave another at the (SHA) in Atlanta in 1998. That such a small assemblage has received so much attention is an indication of the struggle we have had figuring out what the toys mean. Robin Stevens helped me with that task, and I am grateful to Randy McGuire and LouAnn Wurst for giving me the opportunity to talk about the results at the SHA in Québec 2000. More thanks to Randy for constructive comments on the first draft and to two anonymous reviewers for theirs on the second. We all have LouAnn to thank for pulling the session together for publication.

### REFERENCES CITED

- Aperture Foundation (1977). *America & Lewis Hine, Photographs 1904–1940*, Aperture Foundation, New York.
- Barrett, M. (1994). *Aggies, Immies, Shooters, and Swirls, the Magical World of Marbles*, Little, Brown and Company, New York.
- Blumin, S. (1989). *The Emergence of the Middle Class*, Cambridge University Press, London.
- Bushman, R. (1992). *The Refinement of America*, Vintage Books, New York.
- Calvert, K. (1992). *Children in the House, the Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900*, Northeastern University Press, Boston.
- Fitts, R. K. (1999). The Archaeology of Middle-Class Domesticity and Gentility in Victorian Brooklyn. *Historical Archeology* 33(1): 39–62.
- Gish, C. (1992). The Children's Strikes: Socialization and Class Formation in Paterson, 1824–1836. *New Jersey History* 110(3/4): 21–38.
- Gish, C. (1994). *The Petit Proletariat: Youth, Class, and Reform 1853–1890*, Doctoral Dissertation, Department of History, New York University, New York.
- Griggs, H. (1998). Competition and economic strategy in the needletrades in a nineteenth-century working-class neighborhood. In Yamin, R. (ed.), *Tales of Five Points: Working-Class Life in Nineteenth-Century New York. Vol. II: Draft on file*, John Milner Associates, Philadelphia.
- Gutman, H. G. (1977). *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America*, Vintage Books, New York.
- Karskens, G. (1999). *Inside the Rocks, the Archaeology of a Neighbourhood*, Hale and Iremonger, Alexandria, NSW, Australia.

- Katz, M. B. (1968). *The Irony of Early School Reform*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Nasaw, D. (1985). *Children of the City, At Work and At Play*, Anchor Press/Doubleday, Garden City, New York.
- Opie, I., and Opie, P. (1969). *Children's Games in Street and Playground*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, London.
- Praetzelis, A., and Praetzelis, M. (1992). Faces and facades: Victorian ideology in early Sacramento. In Yentsch, A. E., and Mary C. B. (eds.), *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology, Essays in Honor of Jame Deetz*, CRC Press, Boca Raton, pp. 75–99.
- Randall, M. E., and Webb, D. (1988). *Greenberg's Guide to Marbles*, Greenberg, Sykesville, MD.
- Riis, J. A. (1971). *How the Other Half Lives, Studies Among the Tenements of New York*, Dover Publications, New York.
- Schlereth, T. (1991). *Victorian America*, Harpers Perennial, New York.
- Stansell, C. (1987). *City of Women, Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Stott, R. B. (1990). *Workers in the Metropolis, Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Tressell, R. (1993). *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* (with an introduction by Alan Sillitoe), Flamingo, London.
- Wall, D. (1994). *The Archaeology of Gender*, Plenum Press, New York.
- Ward, C. (1990). *The Child in the City*, Bedford Square Press, London.
- Whyte, W. F. (1993). *Street Corner Society, the Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago. (Originally published 1943).
- Wilentz, S. (1984). *Chants Democratic, New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850*, Oxford University Press, New York.